1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

583 relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

584 If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo
686 as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents; but, on the other hand, the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pödri* at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pödri*. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

583 When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrparn* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrparn*.

THE REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

582 The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of
616 individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is
588 that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and
591 the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mokkthodvaiol* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

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the end of this chapter, may be regarded as a recognised form of marriage, but it differs from the orthodox form in that the children of the union belong to the division of the mother. They do not, however, belong to her clan, but to that of her legal husband. Similarly, the same kind of connexion may be formed between a Tarthar man and a Teivali woman, but in this case the woman is not allowed to live at the village of the *mokkthodvaiol*, who may either visit her occasionally or go to live at her village.

It has already been mentioned that each of the two divisions of the Toda community is divided into a number of septs or clans, and these are definite exogamous groups. No man or woman may marry a member of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. This restriction applies even to the members of clans which are known to have separated from one another in recent times. Thus, among the Tartharol certain members of the Melgarsol separated from the main group, and their descendants have formed a separate group or groups known as the Kidmadol and Karshol (see p. 664), but although the separation took place many years ago there still remains a definite prohibition against a marriage of members of these clans with the Melgars people. The clans of Pedrkars and Kulhem among the Teivaliol are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but here the separation seems to have occurred so long ago that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage.

In the whole of the genealogical record given in the tables at the end of the volume there is not a single case in which marriage has occurred between two members of the same clan.

Among many races at or below the stage of culture of the Todas prohibition of marriage within the clan is usually accompanied by prohibition of sexual intercourse, and such intercourse is regarded as incest and often as the greatest of crimes. It is doubtful whether there is any such strict prohibition among the Todas. In the qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* known as *tesherst*, it is ordained that the woman who takes part in the ceremony shall be one who has never had intercourse with one of her own clan, and I was told that it was far from easy to find such a woman. The

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

835 fact, however, that this restriction should exist in connexion with a ceremony suggests that even to the Todas there is something reprehensible in intercourse between man and woman of the same clan (see also p. 530).

582 618 There are certain special prohibitions against marriage between members of certain clans. Among the Tartharol the Panol are not allowed to marry the Kanòdrsol, a prohibition said to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, and it is said that since that day no marriage has ever taken place between the clans of the two men. In the genealogical record there is no case in which these two clans have intermarried.

I was also told that the people of Melgars and Kwòdrdoni might not intermarry, but there are three examples of such marriages in the genealogies. I could not obtain any reason for the restriction, and the information is probably incorrect. The restrictions on marriage between the people of Melgars and those of Kidmad and Karsh have already been considered.

Among the Teivaliol there are also prohibitions against intermarriage between certain clans. The people of Piedr may not marry those of Kusharf. Judging from the genealogical record, the prohibition is not strictly followed, for three such marriages have taken place in recent times. In one of these cases, however, in which a Piedr man married a Kusharf woman, the woman soon became seriously ill, and the marriage was annulled. I could obtain no reason for the prohibition of marriage between these two clans. Marriage was also prohibited between the Piedrol and the Pedrkarsol, this being due to a comparatively recent quarrel between members of the two clans, of which an account is given in Chapter XXVIII.

I have analysed the genealogical records with the view of ascertaining whether certain clans intermarry with any special frequency. Among the Tartharol, I find that the people of Nòdrs marry most frequently those of Kars and Taradr. The Karsol, the largest of the Tarthar clans, distribute their marriages widely over the whole Tarthar division. The Panol chiefly marry with Kars and Melgars.

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582 618 The Taradrol have married most often with Nòdrs, Kars and Melgars. Keradr, a very small clan, shows no special predilection. The people of Kanòdrs have intermarried most often with Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Kars and Melgars. The people of Kwòdrdoni marry most often people of Kanòdrs, Kars and Nidrsi. The Pämol have married chiefly with Kanòdrs, Kars and Melgars. Most of the Nidrsi marriages have been with Kars. The Melgarsol have married in fairly equal proportions people of Nòdrs, Kars, Taradr and Päm.

These facts are interesting in that they show that there is a tendency for the three clans of Nòdrs, Kars and Taradr to intermarry. These are not only the most important Tarthar clans, but they occupy the same district of the hills, in the centre and towards the north and north-west. Similarly, the clans of Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni and Päm, situated towards the north-east and east, show a distinct tendency to intermarry. Further, the Melgarsol, who form a special group standing somewhat apart from the rest, distribute their marriages fairly equally, but have often married with Päm, a clan seated near them geographically.

The analysis of the genealogies shows that the geographical distribution of the Tartharol on the hills has had a definite influence on the intermarriage of the different clans.

Among the Teivaliol, intermarriage has been greatly influenced by the enormous size of the Kuudrol as compared with the other clans of the division. In order to marry outside their own clan, the people of Kuudr have married nearly all the available members of the other clans of the Teivaliol, leaving very few to intermarry with one another. Thus the genealogies record 161 marriages between Kuudrol and members of the other five Teivali clans, leaving only sixteen marriages between the members of those five clans. Owing to the enormous development of one clan, the Teivali division has almost come to be in the position of a community with a dual marrying organisation in which every member of one group must marry a member of the other group, but there is no reason whatever to think that this is due to any other reason than the excessive development of one clan in numbers.

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582 618 On studying the marriages in detail it is found that the Kuudrol have married members of the Piedr clan most frequently, but this is chiefly because the Piedrol stand second to the Kuudrol in point of numbers, although it is also furthered by the restriction in marriage between Piedr and Kusharf. The marriages of the Kuudrol with other clans seem to be determined more by the numbers available than by any predilection for special clans.

Both Pedrkars and Kulhem are said to be offshoots of the Kuudrol, but apparently the separation is so remote that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage. It is possible that the necessity of providing spouses for the Kuudrol has tended to break down a restriction which probably once existed.

582 621 The Todas have never married people outside their own community, and a strong prejudice against such marriages still exists. This may be illustrated by two recent cases.

A woman, married in the usual way, was divorced by her husband because she became ill. She returned to her own home, where she was visited by a Tamil blacksmith. The latter was very anxious to marry the woman and on one occasion took her away to the plains, but she was followed by her relatives and brought back to her home. Later she married two Toda brothers and was taken by them to their village, but she was followed by the blacksmith, who brought her back to the village of her parents. The Todas seem to have no strong objection to her relations with the stranger so long as she remains among themselves.

In the other case a woman about twelve years ago was visited by a rich Mohammedan who gave money to her husbands, and it was said also that he bribed the chief Toda people, *i.e.*, the members of the council. The Mohammedan wished very much to marry the woman and for a sum of money the Todas consented. After the woman had lived for a few days in the bazaar with her new husband, her relatives came and took her away, and I was told that the Mohammedan took the loss so much to heart that he died of grief, but my informants were doubtful whether his grief was due to the loss of his wife or whether it was because

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he had impoverished himself by the bribes which he had given. Here again the people appear to have had no objection to the relations of the woman with the Mohammedan so long as she remained in the community. 582 621

Kinship and Marriage

The members of his own clan are not the only kin whom a man is not allowed to marry. The Todas have a general term, *pŭliol*, for those relatives whose intermarriage is prohibited. The term is applied by a man not only to the women whom he may not marry, but also to the families in general into which he may not marry; thus a man may speak of other men as his *pŭliol*, meaning by this that he may not marry their sisters. This, however, is only a loose way of using the word, and, putting on one side this sense in which the word may be used, the following are the *pŭliol* of a man:— 582 601 618

(i.) The daughters of his father's brothers, whom he would call *akka* or *enda*, according to age.

(ii.) The daughters of his mother's sisters, also *akka* or *enda*.

(iii.) The sisters of his father and conversely the daughters of his sisters, *i.e.*, his *mumi* and his *mankugh*.

(iv.) The daughters of the sisters of his father's father, *i.e.*, of the sisters of his *pian*.

The relatives under the first head will be members of the same clan as the man, and the prohibition of marriage between *pŭliol* under this head may be regarded as a restriction dependent on either clanship or kinship.

There seemed to be no doubt, however, that in connexion with marriage, a man always thought of these relatives as *pŭliol*, a term which denotes certain kin, to whatever clan they may belong. So far as I could ascertain, if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one, of his *pŭliol*, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his *pŭliol* included all the people of his own clan.

If I am right in this, it means that it is the bond of blood-

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582 601 618 kinship which a Toda has chiefly in his mind when he considers whether he may or may not marry a given woman. He has not two kinds of prohibited affinity, one depending on clan relations, and another on relations of blood-kinship, but he has only one kind of prohibited affinity, to which he gives the general term *püliol*, including certain kin through the father and certain kin through the mother, and there is no evidence that he considers the bond of kinship in one case as different from the other as regards restriction on marriage.

The fact that the Toda includes all those kin whom he may not marry under one general term, and that the kin in question include members both of his own and other clans, goes to show that the Todas recognise the blood-kinship as the restrictive agency rather than the bond produced by membership of the same clan.

The analysis of the genealogical record has shown that these restrictions on marriage are enforced. I have already stated that the genealogies show no single case in which marriage has occurred between members of the same clan. *i.e.*, between *püliol* who come under the first head in the list given above.

I have also failed to find a single case in which marriage has taken place between the children of two own sisters, or of marriage between the children of two women who would call each other "sister" whose names occur in the same genealogical table. Thus I have found no case in which a marriage has taken place between the children of two women so closely related to one another as Punzueleimi and Nasturs, of Table 3, these women being first cousins according to our system of kinship.

It would be a prolonged task to ascertain whether marriage ever takes place among the Tartharol between the children of two clan-sisters in the widest sense, and I do not know whether such marriage may not sometimes occur.

Among the Teivaliol marriages between clan-sisters even in the widest sense must be very rare owing to the fact that nearly all marriages take place between people of Kuudr on the one hand and members of the five other Teivali clans on the other. Since in most cases two women of any one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

of these five clans marry men of Kuudr, marriage between their children would be restricted under the first prohibition, and similarly the children of two Kuudr women could only intermarry in those cases in which members of the other five clans have married one another. Among the Teivaliol, I do not believe that marriages take place between the children of sisters in the widest sense, and I have little doubt that they are very exceptional among the Tartharol. 582 601 618

There is no case in the genealogies in which the third restriction has been broken, in which a man has married his father's sister or his sister's daughter, his *mumi* or his *maukugli*.

There is at least one case in the genealogies in which there has been an infringement of the fourth restriction given on page 509. The marriage of Nargudr (62) with Tolveli (58) is an example of the marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister. I believe that this restriction is part of a wider regulation. Using Toda terms of kinship the law would run: a person must not marry the child of his *matchuni*. The marriage of a man with the daughter of his grandfather's sister, such as that of Nargudr with Tolveli, would be an infringement of this law. I have only found one other case in the genealogies in which this law would have been broken, *i.e.*, in the marriage of Teitnir (52) and Tersveli (63). Tersveli's father, Teikudr, is the son of Kavani, the sister of Pareivan, Teitnir's father. Teikudr is therefore the *matchuni* of Teitnir, who has married his daughter.

I was told that though a man might not marry the daughter of his sister, he might marry the children of this woman. I do not know of any such marriage and it is improbable that it would often come about, since it would involve the marriage of a woman with the brother of her grandfather. There is, however, at the present time an example of the marriage of a woman with her father's mother's brother, whom she would therefore call *pia*, or grandfather. This is the marriage of Kaners and his brother Kudrievan (63) with Edjog (56), the daughter of Tüliners, the son of the sister of the two men. I was told, however, that this marriage met with a good deal of disapproval among the Todas, but I could not learn that there was any definite prohibition against it.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE MARRIAGE OF MATCHUNI

582 While marriage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man. The orthodox marriage is marriage between *matchuni*, the children of brother and sister. Thus it is obviously not nearness of blood-kinship in itself which acts as a restriction on marriage, but nearness of blood-kinship of a certain kind.

I have analysed the genealogies[1] to ascertain the frequency with which marriages between *matchuni* occur. The genealogical tables record about 550 marriages, of which 373 are Tarthar and 177 Teivali. Only a small proportion of these are marriages between children of own brother and sister. Among the Tartharol there are 40 and among the Teivaliol 25 such marriages, making together 65 or 11·8 per cent.

Since, however, the *matchuni* of a man include a much wider circle of relatives than the children of his mother's own brother and father's own sister, the number of marriages between *matchuni* is very much larger than this.

Nearly all the Teivali marriages are marriages between *matchuni* in this wider sense, while among the Tartharol there are also many other marriages of this kind.

One of the reasons why the orthodox marriage custom is not still more commonly followed is the existence of the practice called *tererstthi*, to be considered later in this chapter. According to this practice wives are transferred from one man to another, and in this transference no attention appears to be paid to the kinship tie. The woman, or rather girl, originally married to a man may have been his *matchuni*, but the woman who finally becomes his wife by the working of the *tererstthi* custom may not be and probably in most cases is not his *matchuni*. In many cases in the genealogies, the original infant marriage may have been forgotten, and the marriage recorded may be the result of the *tererstthi* custom. If I had a complete record of all infant marriages, I have no doubt that the proportion of marriages between *matchuni* would have been larger.

[1] [see pp. 749-788]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

In some families marriages between *matchuni* in the near sense occur much more frequently than in others. Thus out of the forty *matchuni* marriages among the Tartharol, the husband or wife belonged to the Taradrol in fifteen cases, and in one large Taradr family, that of Parkeidi (21), six out of eight children married their *matchuni* in the near sense. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the Taradrol have been comparatively little affected by outside influences. They are a clan which might be expected to keep up the orthodox Toda custom.

Another example of a family in which the orthodox marriage custom has been frequently followed is that of Table 52, where there may be found eight cases of the marriage of *matchuni* in the near sense, and several others where the *matchuni* relationship is more distant.

In some cases marriages have taken place between the children of *matchuni*. Thus the marriage of Uvolthli (15) with Sinmundeivi (20) among the Tartharol, and of Pangudr (66) with Nelbur (54) and Kanokh (56) with Sanmidz (63) among the Teivaliol, are all cases in which marriages have taken place between the children of two men who called one another *matchuni*. There may be other cases, but these examples are perhaps sufficient to show that these marriages may be held to take the place of the orthodox *matchuni* union.

While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful. The more distant tie of kinship from our point of view is unlawful, while the nearer is commanded.

Marriage with a *matchuni* may often involve considerable disproportion of age. In one case at the present time a boy of about two years of age is married to a woman of about twenty. The woman, Nulnir (10), was still unmarried when she reached this age, so she was married to her *matchuni*,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

582 Kagerikutan (25), the son of her mother's brother. In this case the orthodox marriage was resorted to when the woman had failed to obtain a husband in any other way, although it involved marriage with a baby.

In another case, the marriage of Keitkarg (38) and Pötoveli (49), in which the woman is considerably older than her husband, the husband and wife are *matchuni*.

588 766 There is one ceremonial marriage in which the husband always stands in the relation of *matchuni* to the wife. This is in the performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony at the funeral of a girl unmarried at the time of her death. The boy who is chosen to give the bow and arrow and to act as the husband is always, so far as I could discover, the *matchuni* of the dead girl.

Similarly, if an unmarried boy dies, the girl who is chosen to act as his widow should be his *matchuni*. In one case of which I have a record, the son of Tütners (58) died and Sotidz (66) was chosen to act as widow. None of the brothers of Puvizveli (65), the mother of the dead boy, had at that time a son, so the duty was undertaken by the daughter of Pangudr, of the same clan as Puvizveli, but belonging to a different family. In this case the *matchuni* was the daughter of a clan-brother because there was no nearer *matchuni* available.

Keinba, who acted as husband at the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 394), was the *matchuni* of the dead girl in two ways, as the son of her mother's brother and as the son of her father's half-sister.

582 A *matchuni* may be either the child of a mother's brother or of a father's sister, and I have examined the genealogies to see if a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother or of his father's sister the more frequently, and find that there is no great difference, though the former marriage is somewhat the more frequent. There are among the Tartharol twenty cases in which a man has married the daughter of his mother's brother, two of marriage with the daughter of a stepmother's brother, and one with the daughter of a stepmother's half-brother, making twenty-three cases in all. On the other hand, a man married the daughter of his father's sister in fourteen cases, twice he married the daughter of his father's

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

half-sister, and once the stepdaughter of his father's sister, making seventeen cases in all. 582

Among the Teivaliol marriages with the daughter of a father's sister are the more frequent, there being fifteen of these as compared with ten cases of marriage with the daughter of a mother's brother. There is evidently no special preference for either kind of marriage.

POLYANDRY

The Todas have a completely organised and definite system of polyandry. When a woman marries a man, it is understood that she becomes the wife of his brothers at the same time. When a boy is married to a girl, not only are his brothers usually regarded as also the husbands of the girl, but any brother born later will similarly be regarded as sharing his older brothers' rights. 595

In the vast majority of polyandrous marriages at the present time, the husbands are own brothers. A glance through the genealogies[1] will show the great frequency of polyandry,[1] and that in nearly every case the husbands are own brothers. In a few cases in which the husbands are not own brothers, they are clan-brothers, *i.e.*, they belong to the same clan and are of the same generation. Instances of such marriages are those of Toridz (65) with Kulpakh (52) and Kiladrvan (60), and of Sintharap (68) with Kuriolv (52) and Onadj (57).

There is only one instance recorded in the genealogies in which a woman had at the same time husbands belonging to different clans, viz., the marriage of Kwelvtars (60) with Nidshtevan of Piedr (64) and Tütners of Kusharf (67), and in this case the men were half-brothers by the same mother, the fathers being of different clans. While I was on the hills, there was a project on foot that three unmarried youths belonging to three different clans should have a wife in common, but the project was frustrated and the marriage did not take place.

[1] In cases of polyandry the names of the husbands are enclosed in square brackets.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Exchange of Brother and Sister

582 583 Although I was not told that it was the custom for a brother and sister of one clan to marry a sister and brother of another, examination of the genealogies makes it clear that this frequently happens. A good example which may be cited is the marriage of Kuriolv (52) with Punaveli (65), while Sinkòrs, the sister of Kuriolv, married the three brothers of Punaveli. Two other similar instances may be found in Table 52, and they are of general occurrence throughout the genealogies.

In some communities this custom of exchange is definitely connected with the bride-price, which may be so large as almost to compel a man to give his sister in exchange for the wife he takes from another clan. In the case of the Todas the bride-price is so inconsiderable that it is unlikely that it would form a motive for exchange, and I think it improbable that in such marriages as those cited above, the idea of exchange is even definitely formulated, but that the combination of marriages comes about for such obvious reasons as may occur in any community. The marriage of *matchuni*, if widely practised, would obviously lead to an appearance of exchange, and it may be that among the Todas this is the chief cause of its occurrence.

Similarly, instances will be found in the genealogies of two brothers (or two groups of brothers) marrying sisters. An example may be given from Table 53, where Orzevan marries one woman and his two brothers marry her sister. Another instance may be found in Table 58.

587 595 In several cases in which a man or group of men have had two wives the wives have been related. Thus, Kutthurs (12) and his brothers first married Tedjveli (16). After her death, Kutthurs, the only surviving brother, married Sabnir (34), the daughter of Arsner, Tedjveli's sister. Again, Paners (23) and his brothers first married Pergveli, and when she died they married her brother's daughter. Pungusivan (53) married his *matchuni*, Sinodz (68), and when she was taken from him by the *tererstlu* custom, he married Sintharap, her sister.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

There is often very great disproportion of age in Toda marriages. I have already given two cases in which the woman is the older, in each of which the disproportion of age is due to the custom of marrying a *matchuni*. More commonly the man is much the older, and there are at the present time many cases in which elderly men are married to young girls. This is partly due to the practice of infant marriage. Unless a widower can take advantage of the *tererstthi* custom, which is always expensive, he may have to marry a child and wait till she has reached a marriageable age. Thus, Kòdrner, my guide, lost his wife some years ago, and then married a girl whose present[1] age is only thirteen, Kòdrner being forty-two. The girl is still living with her parents, and will probably not go to her husband for another three or four years.

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The Custom of 'Tererstthi

The marriage tie among the Todas at the present time has become very loose. Wives are constantly transferred from one husband, or group of husbands, to another, the new husband or husbands paying a certain number of buffaloes to the old. The amount of the compensation or *ter* is settled by a council, and from this the transaction has received its name of *tererstthi*, or "compensation he tells (decides)."[2]

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There is much reason to believe that this custom has altered its character in recent times. I was told that formerly the custom only applied to cases in which a man had lost his wife by death. If he wished to marry a woman who was already the wife of another or others, he went to the father of the woman and asked for his consent. The father would consult with two other elders, and if they were in favour of the proposed transaction the three elders would go to the woman, and if they obtained her consent they then went to her husband for his. If husband or wife were unwilling to be parted nothing was done, but if both consented, the new and

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[1] In 1902.

[2] *Ter* is also used in the sense of 'fine,' but is only used when the fine takes the form of a buffalo or buffaloes. A money fine is called *sarar*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Debt and Servitude

426 It seems to be not uncommon for a Toda to die in debt,
593 and it is the duty of the sons to pay off the debts of their father. If there are no children, the payment of the debt is
466 regarded as the duty of the brothers of the dead man.

When children have to pay the debts of their father, they may give their services to others, receiving in return money and other recompense. The usual pay is six rupees a year, two cloaks, and food. To this is often added the loan of a milking buffalo.

This custom of working for another is called *kûlvatkerthchi* or *kûlvatkerthiti*. Several of the eight sons of Pushteidi and Keitan (6) are now working to pay their father's debts. Two of the sons are married to one woman and live at one of their own villages, where they look after the buffaloes of the family. Another brother is unmarried, but lives with a Teivali woman. The other five sons are unmarried and work for various people. One is employed on a tea estate, and the others are working for different Todas, who reward them in the manner already described. The milking buffaloes lent to them are handed over to the charge of the brothers who are married.

[582] It is very exceptional to find a family in which so many of the men are unmarried, and this was said to be due to the necessity of paying off their father's debt. In this case the two eldest brothers have remained unmarried, but this was said to have been due to their own choice. It seems that it is left to the family to decide which of them shall marry and which shall undertake the duty of paying the debt. As soon as the debt is paid off, all the sons are allowed to marry.

The Position of Women

562 There is no doubt that women have a subordinate position in the Toda community. The ceremonial of the dairy has a predominant place in the lives and thoughts of the people, and the exclusion of women from any share in this ceremonial must have influenced the attitude of the

In paragraph (a) of the last Chapter, I showed that the

CHAP. XI. Toda males of all ages bear to the females, the proportion of 100:75; and the correctness of this statement is somewhat confirmed by the ratio in adults and in children, given in paragraphs (β) and (γ) bearing a similar discrepancy. This excess of males is a very striking fact, and its truth may be accepted without doubt or mental reserve. I think we cannot quite account for the universal paucity of females without acknowledging, either that infanticide is, or has recently been practised to a very sensible extent: or that more boys are *born* than girls.

To what cause may we attribute this wide departure in nature, from those of her well-established laws; by the operations of which, equality between the sexes, is, within certain limits of divergence, known to be preserved, in all countries of whose population we have accurate knowledge? If we are disposed to describe the cause, in some general expression, as 'race peculiarity,' we still cannot be satisfied with less than the discovery of the physiologic reason for such eccentricity. We note the food and clothing, the mode of life, the climate; and fail to see sufficient reason for ascribing what we seek to any such origin. In fact, as regards the Todas, we can with certainty pronounce, that in only two respects can their surroundings be considered to differ widely in an important manner, from that of vast masses of mankind to whom great variation between the sexes has never been traced; viz., in their marriage system, and in the practice of infanticide.

We have learnt that relationship is, with the Todas, intimate far beyond that witnessed in any country approaching civilisation. Intimate to such a degree, that the whole tribe, where not parents and children, brothers and sisters, are all first-cousins, descended from lines of first-cousins prolonged for centuries. Let me show emphatically and distinctly that such is in truth the case. The tribe consists of about 713 persons, divided between 5 clans; of which

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XI.

two are almost extinct. The remaining three clans, being nearly of equal number, must contain about 200 members of all ages each. But one of them—the Peiki clan—marries solely within itself. Hence, this small body of 200 people have intermarried from time immemorial. And the intercourse must have become very promiscuous. I do not attribute disparity between the sexes to this close intercourse; but it is interesting to review the primitive practice, as a custom connected with the paucity of numbers arising from infanticide, and with the polyandrous habit which is found in junction with it.

In future chapters we shall see that the practice of infanticide as observed by the Todas, was the habitual destruction of all daughters in every family, except one or sometimes two. And we know that the average size of Toda families is 6 children born to each woman.

Now let us for the purpose of illustration take three families as representing an average of the entire tribe; say that one mother gives birth to 6 daughters and no sons: a second mother has 6 sons only, whilst the third mother has 3 sons and 3 daughters. The first mother—following the tribal custom—destroys 4 daughters and preserves 2. The second retains her 6 sons. The third kills 2 daughters and keeps 1, as also her 3 sons. We have then, from the three families, 9 sons and 3 daughters with which to continue the breed. But whilst the males belong to families in which the tendency to produce sons is great, the females are of those of a converse inclination. Thus the bias strengthens with each generation, until, as we find, families grow to have habitually more sons than daughters. This habitude *outlasting the depraved practice which caused it*, indurates more or less, into a fixed characteristic of the people: and *a male-producing variety of man is formed.*

In presenting Table No. 4, containing what I have termed 'Statistics of Toda Families,' to the indulgence of my readers,

CHAP. XXVI.

183 577 I confess to a feeling of great astonishment that barbarians should conduct their household arrangements with the staidness and good sense of members of the Teutonic family of nations. Yet, though free from taint of fickleness, Toda social morality can scarcely be defended. We find him bound down to keep the peace, and behave himself as a Toda should, and not throw his wife and children on the parish. But for the rest we find him still a gross savage.

In the outward behaviour of the sexes, I have been amused to notice how much the custom and etiquette observed in civilised life is derived from *their* model. I have never seen any among our list of the proprieties in the slightest degree overstepped by them in ordinary daily intercourse, except 582 perhaps in their habit of calling a spade a spade. Modest-looking women are by no means rare. They remain habitually at home, keeping together as demure as cats. They have their own places of private resort, on which members of the opposite sex would not presume to intrude. They manage their cumbersome garments to perfection. But it must not be supposed that they are moral, or have scruples. It is the human animal in its wild state.

589 183 582 No unmarried class exists, to disturb society with its loves and broils. More's the pity! for that same society much needs to be startled into energy out of its hum-drum life! The warm breath of poetry and romance never passes through these people. It must long ago have been quenched with the introduction of infanticide and polyandry. Defects lie entirely the other way; it is a 'very much married' people. Every man and every woman, every lad and every girl is somebody's husband or wife; tied at the earliest possible age, and bound by grinding social law, in the bonds of unpoetic matrimony, extending almost over the entire term of adult life. Sacred characters, such as the pâlâl and pâlkarpâl, are merely husbands off duty. With the exception of a cripple girl, and of those women who, past the child-bearing age,

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

were widows, I did not meet with a single instance of unmarried adult females. But, on the contrary, I have been able to record several examples of maids wedded in childhood, either to boys or to young men; and in one instance of a young woman of seventeen married to a boy of fourteen years.—See Table No. 9.

Although there *are* degrees of kinship, within whose limits the union of the sexes is held in actual abhorrence, yet half-brothers and sisters are not included amongst the objectionables. I judge from the internal evidence afforded by their mode of life; the size and crowded condition of their tiny houses: their natural dispositions, so gregarious and unacquisitive as to be uncontrolled by such moral doubts as a sense of personal property outraged, would prompt: the disproportion of the sexes: unlimited opportunity. These points conspire to convince with irresistible force, that here communism is in fullest operation.

Very possibly, some etiquette may be in force among them to place a certain bar on their private practices. But I have not had opportunity to ascertain absolutely the form and outline of their private domestic habits. My belief is—and in this respect Mr. Metz is in full accord with me—that every disgusting habit, which might be expected in such a state of life, is the common practice among them, but unaccompanied by much sense of impropriety.

The almost entire absence of evidence of foreign blood in their veins, is worthy of note, even if a reason may not be ascribed with any degree of confidence, to the phenomenon. Surrounded by tribes, varying much in appearance from the Todas, and from one another, and for many years in close proximity to an English settlement; yet not one single Europeanised countenance has been met amongst them, nor could I point with certainty to any faces bearing the stamp of a foreign native tribe.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXVI

TABLE No. IX.

Child Marriages. Compiled from 'Statistics of Toda Familia,' Table No. IV.

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No. on the List	Calculated Ages when			Present Ages of		
	Wives Married	Oldest Husbands married	Wives commenced child-bearing	Wives	Oldest Husbands	
1	14	15	15			
2	13	16	14			
20	17	14	—	19	16	Not with child
24	13	21	17			
38	12	15	13			
39	10	19	—	14	23	Not with child
41	12	12	—	14	14	Ditto
44	11	31	12			
47	10	11	—	11	12	Not with child
48	9	12	—	12	15	Ditto
51	14	14	16			
55	10	16	19			

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Anso Toda Anso

172 range. The description given of them is as yet so vague that it is impossible to judge of their exact character; but I believe that they resemble the bill-hook and sword or dagger form.

I found cairns and other remains in the straths running up between the higher summits—on which, as before stated, they are more usually found—as stone altars, surrounded by a ring of smaller stones, and mounds of earth enclosed by circular walls.

The circles are evidently regarded with veneration by the Todas, as well as by the Vadacas; but it is difficult to elicit information concerning them. Though the former tribe neither use sepulchral urns nor erect monuments at the present day, they invariably burn the remains of their dead within a circle of stones, and afterwards bury them there, as will be hereafter described; while the presence of the buffalo images, and the similarity in make and texture of the ancient urns to the modern pottery of their workpeople, the Khotas, seem to indicate some connection between the Todas of past days and the remains in question.

595 The Todas are especially remarkable for the practice of polyandry, a custom which exists among but few tribes, as, for instance, in parts of Thibet and of the Himalayas, among the Nayrs of Malabar, and one or two other races only. A Toda woman often has three or four husbands, who are all brothers, and with each of whom she cohabits a month at a
837 time. What is more singular, such young men as, by the paucity of women among the tribe, are prevented from obtaining a share in a wife, are allowed, with the permission of the fraternal husbands, to become temporary partners with them.

593 Notwithstanding these singular family arrangements, the greatest harmony appears to prevail among all parties—husbands, wives, and lovers. The children live happily with their putative parents, equally well treated on every side, and as common to all alike, though, I believe, if any special reason demands it, the senior husband can claim the elder children.

582 The betrothal to the first husband commences at a very early
583 age; and all subsequent brothers of the bridegroom-elect become from their birth bound to the common prospective wife. The compact, as regards the first pair, is conducted by their respective male parents; the father of the bridegroom *in esse* presenting a buffalo and a new robe to the other, the acceptance

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Ao60 Toda Au60

582 of which is understood to ratify the agreement. When, in due
583 course of time, the marriage takes place, the bride, who is probably about fifteen or sixteen years of age, receives from her father a dowry of several buffaloes, together with necklaces, armlets, and ear-rings. The ceremony is generally celebrated by a dance, which, though not of a very exciting description, seems to afford sufficient satisfaction to these cheerful, good-natured people. It consists of stamping on each foot alternately, the body being jerked half round at one step, and back again at the next, to the time of a very monotonous song.

843 When about to become a mother, in place of receiving every
851 comfort and consideration, the Toda woman is sent out, or, what amounts to the same thing, is by custom expected to go out into the forest, and there remain alone, protected only in case of stormy weather by the shelter of the bushes. After the child is born, it is not allowed to be seen by any-one but its parents for some weeks, at the end of which time it is duly named and presented in public.

562 It is a fact worth noticing that, notwithstanding the scarcity
563 of women (said to be owing to the practice of female infanticide which prevailed till within a very few years ago), the Todas never contract marriages with the other tribes, though living together on most friendly terms. That there never has been any mixture of the races, is sufficiently evident from the strongly marked distinctions that continue to exist between them.

It is not less singular, on the other hand, that, in spite of the system of intermarriage which has thus prevailed among the Todas for many generations, or it may be ages, there should not only be no sign of physical deterioration, but that both sexes should be so remarkable for their stature, pleasing exterior, and noble bearing. This would seem to confirm the theory that the marriage of relations, however closely connected, would, in cases of mutual faultless constitution and physical form, result in these excellences of the parents being transmitted, just as in the opposite case physical and mental defects common to both are transmitted, and even augmented.

764 When a death occurs among the Todas, the corpse, covered over with certain aromatic herbs, is left in the hut either till distant friends are summoned, or until the occurrence of a propitious day for the burial; these people being firm believers in

TODA MARRIAGE REGULATIONS AND TABOOS

By M. B. EMENEAU

IT IS many years now that the Todas of the Nilgiris in southern India have been known as a people of peculiar customs and it is thirty years since these peculiar customs were described with a wealth of detail by Rivers in his monumental volume.[1] Even now, however, much remains to be gleaned, and this paper attempts to supplement and correct Rivers' account of one important department of the life of the Todas, viz. the regulations concerning marriage and the taboos associated with these regulations.

A comprehensive account of the general framework of Toda organization is necessary, though it will be in part repetition of what is already well-known. The tribe has, first, two main divisions: toɪrðas and töövijj.[2] For marriage purposes these divisions are endogamous. Each is subdivided into a number of divisions called mod (the familiar mund is the Badaga form of the word). This word is used also to denote any of the small villages of a few huts in which the Todas live, any of the dairies which stand isolated from a village, including the most sacred of these dairies, the tiimod, any of the funeral places, which usually are free of buildings, in fact any spot which at any time is the scene of Toda activities. But modoɪj, "man (or, people) of the mod" is used only of the members of a mod in its widest sense, that of a subdivision of the people, and in this paper mod will be used only in this sense. The toɪrðas are reckoned to have ten mod, the töövijj five. These divisions are exogamous. Membership in a mod is determined by legal paternity; a man belongs to the mod of his "father," as does a woman until her marriage. The "father" is the man who has last given the bow to the mother of the child in the ceremony called puɪmuṯṯ, "act of giving bow."[3] Physical paternity does not count at all for legal purposes, as Rivers has clearly stated. The legal father then is the legal husband of the child's mother, and the husband must be of a different mod from that to which his wife belonged by birth.

Further, a man cannot marry a woman if the two are poǰjoɪǰ. Membership in a group of people known as poǰjoɪǰ is determined by descent in the female line. The female members of the poǰjoɪǰ to whom a man belongs are in his own generation his sisters, the daughters of his mother's sisters, the

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906).

[2] For an explanation of the phonetic symbols employed see the final paragraph of the paper.

[3] See Rivers, pp. 319-23.

daughters of his maternal grandmother's sisters' daughters, and so on; in the preceding generation his mother, his mother's sisters, his maternal grandmother's mother's daughters' daughters, and so on. To the generation younger than him belong his sisters' daughters, his mother's sisters' daughters' daughters, and so on. A man will also designate as his poɬjoɪɬ his mother's sons, his maternal grandmother's sons, his sisters' sons, and so on for any son of a woman who is related to him as poɬjoɪɬ, but not the descendants of these males. This network of relations in the female line cuts across *mod* divisions, and divides the toɪrðas at present into five exogamous sets of poɬjoɪɬ, the töðviɬj into six. Rivers[4] has given a concrete example of how *mod*-relationships are handed down from one generation to the next; the relationships of poɬjoɪɬ are preserved in the same way even when links in the relationship are no longer remembered.

A man, then, while marrying within his own half of the whole tribe, must marry outside of his own *mod* and outside of his poɬjoɪɬ. As it is put by the Todas themselves, he must not marry a woman who is ðuðmortkvæɪdvoj, "one who is born to one and the same *mod*" or poɬjoɪɬ to him. The other peculiarities of Toda marriage and sexual relationships, viz. polyandry, the institution whereby a man may take another's wife upon the payment of compensation, that by which a man may take a concubine from the other half of the tribe, and the general license permitting a man to have sexual intercourse with a woman who takes his fancy without any permanent tie being formed, seem to have blinded observers to these fundamental rules, which govern not only marriages, but also all sexual relationships. No man may marry or have intercourse with any woman who is related to him through a wholly male line or through a wholly female line. This is the system which is generally followed by the castes and communities of Hindu south India (with some exceptions which follow the rules prevalent in north India or some peculiar system of their own). The corollary following from it, that a man may marry his cross-cousin, obtains of course among the Todas as it does among the other south Indian communities following these rules. Among the Todas it is optional, though preferable, and is applied in the symmetrical fashion.[5] It seems to be the rule among many of the south Indian communities that the mother's brother's daughter is preferred, though without excluding the possibility of marriage to the father's sister's daughter; there is no trace of this preference for asymmetry among the Todas.

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[4] Page 490.

[5] Rivers, p. 514, and my informants generally.

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Rivers' account of the general rule[6] is incomplete and in part incorrect. How this came about is of course not certain, but a guess may be hazarded on the cause. There is even now, when information is apparently more easily obtained on most subjects than it was thirty years ago, some reticence and embarrassment about the subject of poɭjoıɭ. It seems to be connected in part at least with the taboos that surround the relationship, perhaps more with the general air of indecency and ridicule with which the Todas approach the subject. This will be made clear when an account is given of the names of the divisions and the stories behind them. At the moment it is necessary to criticize Rivers' account. He interprets the term poɭjoıɭ (his püliol) as including both sets of prohibited affinities. This, being quite contrary to Toda usage, explains the impression he records that "it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his püliol included all the people of his own clan" (i.e. mod). It was a new and wholly erroneous idea. The list of püliol which he gives is in part a mixture of two sets of relationships, in part incorrect, and as a whole incomplete. A man may not marry the daughters of his father's brothers (Rivers' heading i) or the sisters of his father (heading iii), since they are ümdmortkvæıdvoj. The daughters of his mother's sisters (heading ii) and the daughters of his sisters (heading iii) are forbidden, since they are poɭjoıɭ. His fourth head, the daughters of the sisters of his father's father, gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriages to such persons found in the genealogies.[7] The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden. The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poɭjoıɭ to him, but ümdmortkvæıdvoj; they cannot have married his ümdmortkvæıdvoj, and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given[8] that a person must not marry the child of his mot ʃiɲj (matchuni, i.e. cross-cousin) is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him. If she has married outside his mod, there are no objections. Again, if a man's male mot ʃiɲj has married a woman who is poɭjoıɭ to the man's mother, the mot ʃiɲj's daughter will be forbidden to the man; otherwise, not. The case in the last paragraph on p. 511 of Rivers' work, that of a man marrying a daughter of his sister's daughter, is impossible, since she would be his poɭjoıɭ. The final case in this paragraph, the marriage of two brothers to the daughter of their sister's son, violated no rule; the disapproval that attended the marriage was undoubtedly due to the disproportion in age, not as such, but as depriving

[6] Rivers, pp. 509–11.
[7] Rivers, p. 511.
[8] Rivers, p. 511 *med.* and again p. 513.

some young man of an opportunity to marry, a consideration which must always have some weight in a community as small as that of the Todas. It should be remarked further that relations of poljoɪl are extremely hard to trace in Rivers' genealogical tables. This is partly due to the intrinsic difficulty of using for this purpose a set of tables constructed for another purpose, partly to the fact that there are many inaccuracies of detail in the assignment of children both to fathers and to mothers. To set all right two sets of tables should be constructed, one for each kind of relationship: whether any useful purpose would be served by the task may be considered doubtful.

A note on the semantics of the word poljoɪl may be given here. It means "man (or person, or people) of the polj." The most usual meaning of polj is "sacred dairy," a meaning which will not explain our word. Another meaning is found, viz. "Badaga house" (the Toda house is called ɑɪs). A sentence such as the following no doubt gives the clue: emelom ŭɯd-voljoɪlɔɪvemi, "we all are persons of the same (ŭɯd) polj (i.e. poljoɪl)." It is quite obvious that our word is based on an obsolete meaning "house," the members of which, a man, his mother, his sisters, form the nucleus of the whole poljoɪl institution. The semantic development of polj should be stated then in the following order: first, "house;" second, "dairy." The second meaning then drove out, for reasons at present unexplainable, the first except in the application to the houses of the Badagas and in the compound poljoɪl and sentences like the one given above, which are rather based on the old first meaning of the word then reformed on the basis of the word poljoɪl. That this interpretation of the Toda words is correct is seen from the Tamil cognate paḷi, "building, temple."

As was said above, there are at present five sets of poljoɪl among the toɪrðas. Another has in recent years become extinct by the death of its last female member, sinuɪl of the keruɪroɪl (found in Rivers' Table 28 as Sinul). Of the remaining ones the names and stories are as follows. The kŭɑɪæɪnboljoɪl or oɪrvɯʈɣɑɪkvoljoɪl is said to be descended from kŭɑɪæɪn (Rivers' Kwoten). Of him it is told that his spiritual power was so great that he lit fire on the surface of a stream; his poljoɪl make fire by friction with great ease. The other name is based on a story that one man of the line bought for six rupees six (oɪr) cakes made with chillies (the cake is called pɯʈ). A crow (kɑɪk) carried one off, and the man, leaving the others behind, chased the crow, whereupon crows carried off all the other cakes. This story like most of the others to follow ridicules the stupidity of the members of the line. Another is called moɣðɯtkoɪtʂvojvoljoɪl, "people of the house of one who heated the child at the fire." The story goes that in

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Enquiry into the details of the moγðoɪʈjt institution (called by Rivers mokhthoditi)[11] supplements Rivers' account in some important details. For all legal purposes, i.e. membership of mod and the consequent relations to the tribe as a whole, Rivers is correct. Children of these unions are legally children of the man who has given the bow to the mother. In investigating restrictions on the freedom to form these unions it was found that there are two classes of union. In one the man who takes the woman gives only a cloak (puɪtγuʎj). Children of this type of union and the man's legal children may form moγðoɪʈjt unions without any restrictions, except that such a union may not be formed while the parents are still living together in a union of this kind. When the union in the earlier generation ceases, a union in the next generation may be formed.

In the other class of union the man gives to the woman jewelry and makes to her male relatives the koɪlmilvɯḍθt salutation ("act of falling on leg," i.e. kneeling and putting to one's head the other's feet in turn; of the one who raises his feet it is said, koɪlγoɪʈj–, "leg-show"). Children of the union are then in the same relation to the man's legal children as if they were ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj, and the same rules hold for unions between them and between their descendants as for unions between ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj and their descendants. For example, a half-brother and a half-sister may not form the union; their children may form the union, for they are pseudo-motʃiṇj. Children of half-brothers may not form the union, but their children may. Rivers[12] mentions the union of kŭɯɪsiɑʎf of the töŭviʎj with piʎj-murγ of the toɪrðas. He insisted on giving ter for her[13] as if she could be his legal wife, and lived with her for many years (which is unusual in these unions), having by her four children, who were regarded by everyone as his own except that they belong legally to the toɪrðas. This seems to have been the first case in which ter was given in one of these unions, and there have been some later imitations of the precedent. This type of union is merely an extension of the type in which the koɪlmilvɯḍθt salutation is performed, and the regulations governing unions of the descendants are the same.

The taboos described above operate also between all those who are in a pseudo-relation of ŭɯdmortkvæɪdvoj because of a moγðoɪʈjt union. In the first type of union they cease to operate when the union is dissolved, in the second they are permanent in their operation, just as is the prohibition against further unions.

[11] Described in Rivers, pp. 526–29.
[12] Page 534 *med.*
[13] See Rivers, pp. 523–25.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

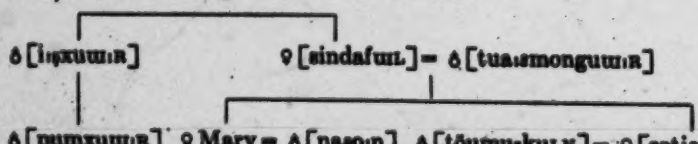
Toda names were given at all. *E.g.* [kanfuɪsodj] gave no Toda names to his children, though his interest in tribal affairs is intense and his connexion with the tribe is fairly intimate. I cannot explain his failure to give Toda names, though a contributing factor is probably to be seen in the fact that his wife is not Toda by origin. In the few cases where I have recorded Toda names for the children of Christian Todas, tribal patterns were followed for the females. *E.g.* [tuaɪsmonguuɪr] (59, Tormungudr) named one of his daughters [sotjabuɪf] "spiritual power-flower," [9] which has as its first member [sotj], occurring in the song-language paired with [tuɪl] in references to the power of the gods or the dairy-complexes. There is probably in this name however a transfer to the Christian sphere of thought. This man's other daughter was also given a Toda name, but she is so generally known, even to the tribal Todas, as Mary that my informants were unable to remember the Toda name. Two girls recently born were named [piɪjiɪʒfuɪf] "silver-flower" and [tyɪjiɪʒfuɪf] (the first member [tyɪj] is not clear).[10] One name of a male child belongs to the tribal religious sphere; [kuarɔɪn] has a son called [asojxuurrn] from [asojur], the buffaloes of the [tiɪ]-dairy of this man's original patrilineal sib.[11] Another son of his is called [sinxuuɪr] "gold-horn," which has no sib-connexions; the formation resembles that of women's names in its use of [sin] "gold," but the second member [kuuɪr] "horn" is an element found not in women's names, but in male names with sib-connexions.[12] Similarly with [pumxuuɪr] "fruit-horn," [13] the name of a son of [iɪʂxuuɪr] (21, Idrshkwòdr).

Tribal social customs have had in general to be abandoned. Funerals and weddings, for example, are conducted in Christian fashion, and the tribal manner of legitimizing children by giving a toy bow and arrow to the pregnant mother can no longer be used. A survival of tribal custom may be seen however in a preference for cross-cousin marriage (which is not prohibited by Church of England canon law or by English civil law). This is the preferential form within the tribe but operates with many exceptions. Consequently, marriage among the Christians can take place between those who are not cross-cousins without departure from tribal patterns. The small number of the Christians makes non-cross-cousin marriage obligatory in most cases. One case, however, is known to me in which cross-cousins were available, and here the failure

[9] *Ib.* §§ 28-6, for the formation.
[10] *Ib.* § 24 for -[iɪʒ] and § 27 for a name with this suffix added to its first member and followed by a second member.
[11] *Ib.* § 9.
[12] *Ib.* § 8.
[13] *Ib.* § 28, for the element [pum].

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

of the marriage to take place was the occasion of quarrelling and attempts to penalize the person responsible for the failure. [iːʂxuɯːʀ] (21, Idrshkwòdr) has one son [pumxuɯːʀ]. His sister [sindafuɯʟ] (Sindavul) married [tuaːsmonguɯːʀ] (59, Tormungudr) [14] and they had two daughters, Mary and [sotjabuːf]. [iːʂxuɯːʀ] wanted Mary to marry his son, her cross-cousin, but since the boy was not old enough, Mary was married to [naso:n] (son of [teːpax] 20, Teipakh). (In the tribal system [naso:n] and [sindafuɯʟ] would use brother-sister terms to one another, since they were classified thus in the same patrilineal sib, but Mary could have been married to [naso:n] in spite of that, since she would have been of another patrilineal sib and not related to him through a matrilineal sib; no violation was done by this marriage either to the tribal system or to the Christian system.) On the occasion of this marriage it seems that the girl's father paid a fine of one buffalo (or cow, I am uncertain which) to [iːʂxuɯːʀ], a clear carry-over from tribal custom, and promised that when his other daughter grew up she should be married to [pumxuɯːʀ]. When she came of age however, [pumxuɯːʀ], who is a ne'er-do-well, was unable to support a wife. Her father consequently went back on his promise and made arrangements for her to marry [tõumuʂkuʟɴ]. [iːʂxuɯːʀ] tried to have the publishing of the banns stopped and even went in his appeals as far as the Bishop of Madras. The missionaries, who have no objections to cross-cousin marriage, helped [pumxuɯːʀ] by giving him cattle with which he might start his household, but he sold them and squandered the money. Under the circumstances nothing was left but to let the marriage of [tõumuʂkuʟɴ] and [sotjabuːf] take place. The Toda Christians then held a formal meeting, assisted by one of the tribal Todas, [peːðoːn] (7, Peithol), and he handed down a judgment with the consent of the majority that the girl's father should pay a fine of three cows to [iːʂxuɯːʀ]. This was a purely tribal solution and when the missionaries heard of it, they objected vigorously. The community decided however that the fine must be paid and a story was invented that [tuaːsmonguɯːʀ] owed two cows in the normal course of events to [iːʂxuɯːʀ]. These two were paid over and the third was smuggled along with them without the knowledge of the missionaries.



[14] A marriage not permissible within the tribe, since the parties were of different moieties.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

648 434 Todas who have no buffaloes and no means of making a sufficient living within the tribal structure find employment on tea-estates. Others who live near Ootacamund make their living by tending cattle, an occupation congenial to pastoralists. In most cases they live in their own villages and do not find their participation in the communal life of the tribe too much restricted by their extra-tribal economic activities.

595 114 In matters of social oraganization no change of any great importance can be found since Rivers made his investigations. The marriage system seems to work quite as it did then, fraternal polyandry modified by polygyny. Rivers' prediction that in time monogamy would prevail is not yet fulfilled. Though it is impossible without a statistical study of Rivers' genealogies brought up to date to make any valid statement concerning the decrease or otherwise of polyandry, I have got no information that would lead me to believe that the institution is a dying one.

588 616 In conjunction with the normal marriage system, in which each of the moieties of the tribe is endogamous, there is another institution, whereby a man from one moiety lives with a woman of the other moiety, each member of the couple having as well his or her legal spouse. Any children resulting from this union are reckoned for all purposes as children of the woman by her husband within her own moiety. In fact, if a man resembles closely his [578] mother's lover (called moxθo:tjfojo:ɻ), this fact may be thrown up to him as an insult ("son of so-and-so [the mother's lover]!").
587 588 616 178 Rivers' described (p. 534) how the headman kumːɟaɻf made an innovation by taking a wife from the moiety not his own, or rather by taking a woman, as he was entitled to do, by the moxθo:tjfoj institution but insisting on giving compensation for her to her husband as if she were a woman of his own moiety, i. e. by treating her as his legal wife. This innovation made a great impact on Toda consciousness and is still spoken of and referred to in any songs about kumːɟaɻf or the children of this union. The example was followed in kumːɟaɻf's lifetime by several men, but all these unions have been dissolved by death, and since kumːɟaɻf's death no fresh example has been allowed by the chief men of the tribe. The innovation, which if continued would probably

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kum:ɨ-jaɟf's children by this union, who are still spoken of as his children though legally they belong to the other moiety. kum:ɨjaɟf, who was a man of great force and influence, was able to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organization would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the tɵuɲɨj moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the to:rθaʂ moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the to:rθaʂ moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the ti:- dairies, which now belong to the to:rθaʂ moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing no conflict within the pattern. The innovation in marriage customs attempted by kuu:ʒa/f and recorded by Rivers, which would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

There remains the important question of the effect of outside influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): " The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.....Any decrease....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills." He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women by the polyandrous system combined with the mo:ʒo:tʃo:ʃ institution by which a woman has at least one " lover " belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh, which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox, I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man") and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhliol* (from *polkhthli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups. They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Karsh	1. Pirsh or Nör
2. Norsh	2. Kwoten-Pöldh
3. Tarar	3. Öntö
4. Mörorl or Pan	4. Kon
5. Kiaror	5. Püth
6. Nirkh	
7. Konnorj	
8. Unkiti	
9. Kwordhoni	

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

modols

10. Melgarsh
11. Pam or Pirspurs
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkparl
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietarl	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kiemen	
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-ngani-potvayiar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, Ön, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Konarl, his grandson and great-grandson.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

428 614 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption 597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these [616] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly [837] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between [582] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of [835] this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I [123] once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls 584 being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be 584 mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death, [775] especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a [588] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married, [766] however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 178 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is widespread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

of what he calls "group marriage" tending more and more to look upon one of the women as his own (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 519).

From what has been stated above, it will be clear that, because of many rules and regulations about whom one may marry and whom one may not, Todas, apart from child-marriage, find it difficult, when adult, to get themselves a wife. The number of women is very limited, and many of them are ineligible because of social barriers, so that not a few men would remain single were it not for the time-honoured custom of *terershti*, or that of the transfer of wives. Rivers describes the latter as a sort of peaceful pact which is negotiated at a meeting between the husband or husbands of a woman and a man or a group of men who wish to take her to wife, compensation (*ter*) to be paid to the losing party in buffaloes being decided first, (*terershti*, "compensation he decides", see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 523).

But when I was in the Nilgiris, transference of wives never took place except forcibly, and it was up to the *noim*, after the abduction had taken place, to fix the amount of animals that should be paid to the aggrieved party in compensation. Nowadays, no longer content with taking the case to the *noim*, some Todas are appealing direct to the Government for help, requesting even that the latter intervene actively to put an end to a custom which, with time, and no doubt because of outside influence, is becoming increasingly distasteful to them. So long, however, as there exists so great a disproportion between the numbers of men to women, and tribal regulations concerning moiety endogamy and clan exogamy are so strictly observed, there seems to be no other solution for the men to the dearth of wives than continually to be taking them from one another, while paying due compensation, so that all of them have at least a time during which they are married.

Some Toda women whom I have met have been wives to no less than seven men or groups of men, remaining with these for a year or so before being carried off again by another or others. Among them have been those who have taken pride in recounting how many buffaloes were paid in compensation for them, as in the eyes of the men their prestige seems to be in direct proportion to the importance of the figure. Women carried off leave their children if the latter are big enough, but take them with them to their new home if they are small. When they grow up, they will return to the clan of their official father.

Of course, what makes it easier for Toda men to accept polyandry and the stealing of each other's wives, is that fatherhood of the off-

To 302 524

have any except buffalo butter, which they rub into it. They are very fond of sporting games, and the country is green and rolling with many hills and is very nice to play about in.

To 595

A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail, will best enable us to compare their system to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the property here is not the axis around which polyandry turns.

To 595 582 422

Three brothers married, polyandrously, a young lady, Potöz (see FIGURE 2). She was married to one of her cousins when she was two years old, as is the practice. When she came of age, however, she married these three brothers. She had no children and died quite early, so that the three brothers were left without any children and without a wife. Then, the following thing occurred. The eldest brother Eroï, married a young woman, known as Sotaboof, and went off on his own; *i.e.*, he was not willing that his two brothers should share this woman with him. He became a government agent, and because he had founded a family of his own, he was entitled to take his part of the buffalo belonging in common to all three brothers. He took one-third of the buffalo away, and two extra, although I cannot remember why; but the important thing is that he was entitled to a share of the common property.

To 595 583 592

The two others tried to marry a woman called Mab. The second brother, Kiel, asked Mab's father, but the father started haggling with him over the bride-price. (They have to pay a price for a girl, a custom which does not exist among the Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine buffaloes, which the young man would not give and left in a huff. Then the third brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon after she became pregnant. In the meantime, her father died and the second brother, hearing of this from Konoch, returned to the house and asked if she would accept him as her second husband, which she did, even though she was pregnant from the third brother. The

Ti 595 220b

or brothers living with the wife are exclusively entitled to her.

To 584 582 586 wTi 584

Instead of the Tibetan practice, in which the children are betrothed by the parents early, the Todas have a custom of marrying first cousins very early, as child marriages are common nearly all over southern India. In such a marriage, the betrothal would likely take place at least in the first or second year, and always between cousins, the boys marrying paternal girl cousins and the girls marrying maternal boy cousins. Later, these marriages are dissolved by divorce and the children are entitled to remarry by inclination, but compensation is always paid to the "legal" husband. This is worked out in a traditional manner, so that it is certainly a survival of some older form of marriage.

To 595 wTi [595]

Another difference with Tibetan polyandry, in the case of the Todas, is that one man is usually declared the father of the children, though this is not always so. In the aforementioned case of Mab, the woman said she had no preference as to who was the father of her children. The woman is regarded as part of the goods

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote" (Rivers, 1906, p. 547).

How, then, does Emeneau discover matrilineal clans? To answer this question, let us consider the marriage rules. First, the terminology: it is not reproduced here, but there is agreement among all writers that it is of the usual Dravidian type and identical in structure to those we have described for Ceylon. As Emeneau notes, it turns around the proposition that "spouse = cross-cousin." Hence the MB is also father-in-law and FZH, and so on. Again, it is quite clear that all marriages must take place between the persons in the categories of *matchuni* (cross-cousins). Both Rivers and Emeneau note that mistakes occur and that they are disapproved of; and Emeneau provides important examples of how the kinship terminology must be altered after a mistake has taken place.

Even though there are mistakes, the correct union is the marriage of *matchuni*. Rivers (1906) states the rule unequivocally: "While marriage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man" (p. 512). The clearest recognition of the rule is to be seen in the funeral ceremonies of an unmarried girl. Like the Nambudiri Brahman in Malabar, the Toda do not risk letting women out of their control unmarried. The system must be closed and hence the girl even in death must be firmly married. In the final funereal and tragic bow-and-arrow ritual, "the husband always stands in the relation of matchuni to the wife" (p. 514).

The position seems to us clear enough, but Rivers does not always follow his own logic. He goes astray in trying to translate the matter into English: "While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* [1] certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* [2] is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful" (1906, p. 513; my numerals).

We need hardly point out that in these categorical systems persons in situation (1) are again directly *matchuni* to each other, whereas those in situation (2) are in the position of son or daughter. Rivers' ethnography is so detailed that the basic pattern comes through very clearly, even though many further questions may be raised. Emeneau has much greater difficulty. He seems to think simply in terms of exogamy. The patrilineal clan is "exogamous." What, then, of the children of the sisters of the mother? It is here that he reifies the *puliol* into a matrilineal "sib": "One of the *functions* of the matri-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

114 582 614 lineal sib has appeared in this discussion of the *kinship terminology*. The *primary function* was shown . . . to be that of *regulating marriage;* no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib" (Emeneau, 1941, p. 167; my italics).

114 601 614 Note also how the terminology operates: ". . . even when the lines of a pedigree have been lost to memory the correct terminology based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with the appropriate terms" (p. 165).

[171] It is clear that the terminology is operating in the same way as the categories of marriage we have seen in Ceylon, but even though this is a particularly impressive use of language in channeling social behavior, Emeneau wants to link the prohibitions to "exogamy" of one kind or another.

114 602 614 The entire case turns around the use of an admittedly difficult key word, *puliol*. Rivers is quite specific about the use of this term. To him it implies certain "prohibited relations": (1) FBD, (2) MZD, (3) FZ, ZD, (4) FFZD (1906, p. 509), and he notes in an important passage p. 509): ". . . if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one of his puliol, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his puliol included all the people of his own clan."

[582] [171] It is a compliment to River's perceptiveness as an ethnographer that he has here detected a subtle matter which gives a good indication to the kin structure of the Toda. He is not really mistaken; it is just that the Toda do not think of the *mad* as exogamous, just as the Sinhalese simply do not think in terms of exogomy, but of prohibited and enjoined "categories."

To Emeneau this passage merely means that Rivers mistakenly includes the clansmen in the puliol who are only the matri-sib members. In trying to fit the recalcitrant facts into his argument he gives many examples which indicate that he has misunderstood this classificatory system:

> [Rivers' fourth category (above)] . . . the daughters of the sisters of his father's father gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriage to such persons found in the genealogies. *The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden.* The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poljo:l to him, but urd mort kva:dvoj; they cannot have married his urd mort kva:dvoj; and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given that a person must not marry the child of his . . . matchuni, i.e., cross-cousin . . . is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

114 602 cannot assume that wherever we have marriage prohibitions we must also find exogamous lineages.

[171] In fact, on the basis of Rivers' evidence, the Toda can be established as a particular instance of the general structure described for Ceylon. The crucial indices are present: (1) Cross-cousin categories associated with the systematic Dravidian terminology and marriage rules; and (2) the formally recognized rights and obligations between (MB-ZS) (FZ-BD) and between cross-cousins of either type. The tabulation of Toda requirements will establish them as using the same general structure described above.

MB-ZS	F-S
ZS named by MB (Rivers, 1906, p. 331) (BD named by FZ p. 331)	Handburning (p. 315)
Hair cutting and naming by MB (p. 333)	Bow-and-arrow ritual (pp. 319 f.) before birth to establish paternity
Ear-piercing by MB (p. 334)	Uncover boy's face (p. 331)
Funeral: ZS to supply buffalo; for child MB (also S-in-L)	F chief mourner at funeral
Name of MB and F-in-L tabooed to ZS (and S-in-L) (p. 494)	S chief fourner at funeral
ZS gives cord tied around corpse of MB	Cutting of lock of hair at funeral by "son, brother, or father"
Special ceremonial exchanges at funeral	
Matchuni (Cross-cousins)	Brothers
Important role in funerals (p. 499)	No special ceremonial obligations outstanding
Special ceremonial acts while eating together, crossing rivers, etc.	
Special role of male *matchuni* at funeral of female *matchuni*	
Male and female *matchuni* proper sexual mates	

171 582 601 602 The similarities between the Toda kin structure and the Kandyan Sinhalese go far beyond the superficial. Emeneau rightly observed, for instance, that "these fundamental rules [i.e., the prohibitions inherent in the terminology] govern not only marriage but also all sexual relationships" (1937, p. 104). The same is, of course, true of the Kandyans. It is because the rules of mating are clearly established that the actual connection between the husband and wife can be extremely tenuous. And since paternity is legally and publicly established at the bow-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

and-arrow ceremony of the Todas, the position of the child in the kin group is not in any doubt. We cannot argue that wherever we have the general structure we shall also find a loose or easily alterable connection between the spouses, but we can argue that the orderliness of marriageable and nonmarriageable kin categories permits a wide definition of the connection between the spouses: it can mean simply "intercourse," or, as in southern Ceylon, it can create a unique estate and a lasting bond between the pair. The open possibility of the loose connection clearly makes both polyandry and polygyny possible among people who utilize some version of the general structure. We shall look at further examples later on.

The similarity between the kin structure of the Toda and the peoples discussed in Ceylon is hardly surprising. There have been many close contacts between Ceylon and the mainland. Not only does the culture give an impression of underlying similarity but the similarity sometimes persists when pursued to the particulars of ceremonies. Thus the gift of a cloth at the union of a man and woman is a custom found among the Toda, the Sinhalese, and many castes on the Malabar coast. Again, the white cloths which are placed on the corpse by the Kandyan Sinhalese are found among the Toda (and Nayar) though each community puts this cloth to different use.

The further similarity, too, in such key words as *ichchil* (pollution) in Toda and *kili* in Sinhalese, or *matchuni* (Toda for cross-cousin) and *massina* (Sinhalese), and many others increases the impression that we are dealing with variations on a common theme.[4] It is the fundamental features common to both systems which have engaged our attention: it could certainly not be claimed that structural similarity goes beyond the fundamentals. But that is the point: each community in this region uses a variety of special customs to set itself off from others. The manner of wearing clothes, different types of sari and dress, bodily marks—all these are well known. But it appears that the process has been carried even into matters of structural importance, so that one community will have a certain kind of marriage simply in order to distinguish itself even more from another community.

TANJORE ADI DRAVIDA AND BRAHMAN

Although many books have been written by scholars and others on the multifold aspects of Southeast India, those that deal with kinship are few, and of recent date. Our conclusions must, of necessity, be limited

[4] The intriguing similarity between the manner of wearing their robes by the Toda priests (who handle the sacred milk) and by Buddhist monks elsewhere is obviously hardly an accident.